

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2217

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 MBFR VIENNA 330

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: DATA DISAGGREGATION

REF: A) USNATO 4794 DTG 061059Z JUN 77

B) BONN 9444 DTG 031707Z JUN 77

C) MBFR VIENNA 219 DTG 122015Z MAY 77

D) USNATO 5539 DTG 171553Z JUN 77

E) USNATO 5759 DTG 211717Z JUN 77

THIS MESSAGE TRANSMITS A SUGGESTED TEXT OF DRAFT GUIDANCE FOR
AHG FOR POSSIBLE BACKGROUND USE BY WASHINGTON AGENCIES IN CONNECTION
WITH PENDING SPC DISCUSSIONS OF DRAFT GUIDANCE ON DATA DISAGGREGA-
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TION PROPOSAL. BRACKETED LANGUAGE CORRESPONDING TO PRESUMED FRG
VIEWS (E.G. ON NATIONAL DESIGNATIONS OF RESIDUAL PERSONNEL) HAS
BEEN INCLUDED IN THE TEXT. ADDITIONAL COMMENTS ON CERTAIN ASPECTS
OF THE FRG PROPOSAL ARE PROVIDED AT THE END OF THE MESSAGE.

BEGIN TEXT OF DRAFT NAC GUIDANCE TO AHG ON DATA DISAGGREGATION:

1. IN RESPONSE TO THE EASTERN PROPOSAL TO TABLE SEPARATE MAN-
POWER TOTALS FOR EACH OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE REDUCTION ARE
A

AND AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE WESTERN PROPOSAL TO TABLE FIGURES FOR
US AND SOVIET MILITARY MANPOWER IN THE AREA, WESTERN NEGOTIATORS
ARE AUTHORIZED TO PROPOSE THE FOLLOWING CONCEPT TO THE EAST AS
THE NEXT STEP IN THE DATA DISCUSSION.

2. GROUND FORCES: EACH SIDE SHOULD SIMULTANEOUSLY TABLE THE
FOLLOWING INFORMATION FOR ITS GROUND FORCES IN THE AREA OF
REDUCTIONS:

A. MAJOR GROUND FORCE UNITS

1. THE OFFICIAL DESIGNATION, INCLUDING NATIONALITY, AND THE
ACTUAL NUMERICAL STRENGTH AS OF 1 JANUARY 1976 FOR EACH GROUND
FORCE ARMY OR EQUIVALENT PEACETIME LEVEL OF COMMAND IN THE FORCES OF
THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS. (SEE FOOTNOTE 1).

BEGIN BRACKETS: 2. THE OFFICIAL DESIGNATION AND ACTUAL NUMERICAL
STRENGTH AS OF JANUARY 1, 1976 FOR EACH GROUND FORCE DIVISION IN
THE FORCES OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS.
END BRACKETS.

B. GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL NOT IN MAJOR UNITS

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1. FOR EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT, THE ACTUAL TOTAL NUMBER AS OF
1 JANUARY 1976 OF ITS ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY PERSONNEL IN THE AREA
NOT ORGANIZED IN THE MAJOR UNITS LISTED UNDER A.1 ABOVE.

BEGIN BRACKETS: 1. THE TOTAL NUMBER AS OF 1 JANUARY 1976 OF
ALL ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY PERSONNEL OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN
THE MAJOR UNITS LISTED UNDER A.1 AND 2 ABOVE. END BRACKETS.

C. GROUND FORCE DIVISIONS

1. WESTERN NEGOTIATORS MAY AT THEIR DISCRETION SUGGEST TO THE
EAST THAT EACH SIDE SHOULD, AS A NEXT STEP IN THE DATA DISCUSSION,
PROVIDE INFORMATION ON INDIVIDUAL GROUND FORCE DIVISIONS IN THE
FORCES OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE AREA CORRESPONDING TO
THAT PROVIDED FOR ARMIES AND CORPS.

3. AIR FORCE: WESTERN NEGOTIATORS SHOULD TELL THE EAST THAT THEY
WOULD BE WILLING TO PROVIDE THE FIGURES ON THE AIR FORCES OF THE
WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WHICH WOULD CORRESPOND TO THE FIGURES
PROVIDED FOR THE GROUND FORCES, ONCE EACH SIDE HAS PUT FORWARD
ITS FIGURES FOR THE GROUND FORCE FORMATIONS AND UNITS LISTED IN
PARA 2 AND HAS HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THOSE PUT FORWARD BY

THE OTHER SIDE. IF BEFORE GIVING A FINAL ANSWER, THE EAST ASKS WHAT

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

TYPE OF INFORMATION ON AIR FORCES WOULD CORRESPOND TO THE GROUND
FORCE FORMATIONS LISTED IN PARA 2, WESTERN NEGOTIATORS MAY OUTLINE
THE CONCEPTS CONTAINED IN PARAS A AND B BELOW. IN THE EVENT THAT THE
EAST INSISTS THAT FIGURES FOR BOTH GROUND AND AIR FORCES SHOULD
BE PUT FORWARD SIMULTANEOUSLY AND STATES THAT IT WILL NOT OTHERWISE
BE WILLING TO EXCHANGE DISAGGREGATED DATA ON GROUND FORCES AND,
IN THE JUDGEMENT OF THE AHG, IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TO OBTAIN
EASTERN AGREEMENT TO A DATA DISAGGREGATION ALONG THE LINES PROPOSED
BY THE WEST IF THIS WESTERN CONDITION IS INSISTED ON, THEN WESTERN
NEGOTIATORS MAY STATE THAT THEY ARE PREPARED TO TABLE BOTH SETS OF
FIGURES SIMULTANEOUSLY.

BEGIN BRACKETS: WESTERN NEGOTIATORS MAY TELL THE EAST THAT

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THEY WOULD IN DUE COURSE BE WILLING TO PROVIDE FIGURES ON THE AIR FORCES OF THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WHICH WOULD CORRESPOND TO THE FIGURES PROVIDED FOR THE GROUND FORCES, BUT ONLY WHEN THE DISCUSSION OF THE GROUND FORCE FIGURES LISTED UNDER A HAS BEEN CONCLUDED. END BRACKETS.

ONCE THE CONDITIONS FOR THE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION ON AIR FORCE MANPOWER HAVE BEEN AGREED, WESTERN NEGOTIATORS SHOULD PROPOSE THAT EACH SIDE SHOULD SIMULTANEOUSLY TABLE THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION FOR ITS AIR FORCES IN THE AREA.

A. MAJOR AIR FORCE UNITS

1. THE OFFICIAL DESIGNATION, INCLUDING NATIONALITY, AND THE ACTUAL NUMERICAL STRENGTH AS OF 1 JANUARY 1976 FOR EACH AIR FORCE OPERATIONAL COMMAND IN THE FORCES OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS. (SEE FOOTNOTE 2).

B. AIR FORCE PERSONNEL NOT IN MAJOR UNITS

1. FOR EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT, THE ACTUAL TOTAL NUMBER AS OF 1 JANUARY 1976 OF ALL ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY PERSONNEL IN THE AREA NOT ORGANIZED IN THE AIR FORCE OPERATIONAL COMMANDS LISTED UNDER A.1 ABOVE.

BEGIN BRACKETS: 1. THE ACTUAL TOTAL NUMBER AS OF 1 JANUARY 1976 OF ALL ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY PERSONNEL OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE AREA NOT ORGANIZED IN THE AIR FORCE OPERATIONAL COMMANDS LISTED UNDER A.1 ABOVE. END BRACKETS.

4. IN MAKING THIS PROPOSAL TO THE EAST, WESTERN NEGOTIATORS SHOULD STATE THAT:

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A. THE PURPOSE OF THE DATA DISCUSSION IN ITS PRESENT STAGE IS TO CLARIFY THE EXISTING DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN FIGURES.

B. ACCORDINGLY, ANY BREAKDOWN OF THE GLOBAL FIGURES TABLED BY EACH SIDE HAS THE SOLE PURPOSE OF HELPING TO CLARIFY THESE DISCREPANCIES.

5. (DISCLAIMERS AS GIVEN IN IS DRAFT GUIDANCE, REF D).

FOOTNOTES:

(1) THE TERM "EQUIVALENT PEACETIME LEVELS OF COMMAND" IS DESIGNED TO COVER THOSE ORGANIZATIONS OF MILITARY FORCES WHICH IN THEIR

PEACETIME STATUS ARE NOT CALLED ARMIES OR CORPS, BUT WHOSE HEAD-
QUARTERS AND COMPONENT ELEMENTS CONSTITUTE THE FORCES WHICH BECOME
ARMIES IN WARTIME. FYI FOR EXAMPLE, THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE
MILITARY DISTRICTS OF THE GDR, POLISH, AND CSSR AND THE TROOPS
SUBORDINATED TO THEM WOULD BE CONSIDERED THE "EQUIVALENT PEACETIME
LEVEL OF COMMAND" TO ANY ARMY. (SEE P. 23, 24, 27, 28, 30 AND
36 OF MCM-86/76). END FYI.

(2) AIR FORCE OPERATIONAL COMMANDS SHOULD BE DEFINED AS REFERRING
TO SUCH ORGANIZATIONS AS TACTICAL AIR COMMANDS, EASTERN AIR ARMIES,
OR THE EQUIVALENT. END TEXT OF DRAFT GUIDANCE.

END OF FOOTNOTE.

6. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH THE MODALITIES OF THE FRG APPROACH ARE NOT
ENTIRELY CLEAR, THE FRG APPEARS TO ENVISAGE GUIDANCE FOR THE AHG
WHICH WOULD INCLUDE NOT ONLY A DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPOSAL
ITSELF, BUT ALSO INTERNAL GUIDANCE FOR THE AHG INCORPORATING THE
PRINCIPLES OF THE DATA DISCUSSION AND ARGUMENTS FOR USE WITH THE
EAST SET FORTH IN SECTIONS II AND III OF THE FRG PAPER. (REF A).

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S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 MBFR VIENNA 330

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

7. IN OUR VIEW, IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO LIMIT THE GUIDANCE TO A DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPOSAL TO BE PUT FORTH TO THE EAST. EFFORTS TO REACH AN AGREED ALLIED POSITION ON PRINCIPLES OF THE DATA DISCUSSION ARE BOUND AT BEST TO PROLONG AN ALREADY LENGTHY DISCUSSION, GIVEN THE UNDERLYING LACK OF AGREEMENT ON THE FRG APPROACH. IN ADDITION, REQUIRING EASTERN AGREEMENT TO CERTAIN PRINCIPLES FOR A DATA DISCUSSION WOULD ADD TO THE ALREADY CONSIDERABLE DIFFICULTY OF OBTAINING EASTERN ACCEPTANCE OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL AS A WHOLE.

8. MORE IMPORTANT, THE FRG PROPOSALS ON WHAT SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE GUIDANCE PRESENT SERIOUS SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEMS. IF ADOPTED, THEY WOULD IN EFFECT PROHIBIT WESTERN NEGOTIATORS FROM REFERRING TO NATIONAL TOTALS IN ANY WAY IN THE DATA DISCUSSION AND FROM CON-
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FIRMING THE ACCURACY OF NATIONAL TOTALS WHICH THE EAST MIGHT DERIVE FROM FIGURES TABLED BY THE WEST. THE WEST WOULD ALSO BE REQUIRED TO TELL THE EAST THAT NATIONAL TOTALS WERE IRRELEVANT TO AN EFFORT TO LOCATE THE SOURCES OF THE DISCREPANCY.

9. A WESTERN POSITION WHICH DOES NOT ALLOW WESTERN NEGOTIATORS TO CONFIRM THE ACCURACY OF THE SUM OF THE FIGURES THEY HAVE TABLED IS NOT A TENABLE ONE. THE ONLY PLAUSIBLE REASON THEY COULD GIVE FOR NOT DOING SO WOULD BE THAT THEY WERE CONCERNED THAT NATIONAL TOTALS MIGHT PREJUDICE THE ALLIED POSITION ON NATIONAL CEILINGS, THEREBY MAKING A DIRECT CONNECTION BETWEEN THE OVERALL NEGOTIATING POSITION OF EACH SIDE AND THE DATA DISCUSSION.

10. MOREOVER, A WESTERN STATEMENT THAT NATIONAL TOTALS WERE IRRELEVANT TO AN EFFORT TO LOCATE THE SOURCES OF THE DISCREPANCY WOULD NOT BE CREDIBLE. FOR ONE THING WESTERN NEGOTIATORS THEMSELVES WOULD WANT TO OBTAIN EASTERN NATIONAL TOTALS, EITHER DIRECTLY OR THROUGH COMPUTATION, AS THE BASIS FOR FURTHER PROBING AND CHALLENGE TO EASTERN FIGURES. SECONDLY, NATIONAL TOTALS ARE THE SET OF DISAGGREGATED FIGURES BELOW THE LEVEL OF AGGREGATE EASTERN GROUND AND AIR MANPOWER WHICH ARE LEAST SUBJECT TO UNCERTAINTIES OF ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AND UNIT SUBORDINATION. DISCREPANCIES IN FIGURES FOR MANPOWER IN ARMIES, FOR EXAMPLE, COULD BE ATTRIBUTABLE TO DIFFERENCES IN WHAT EACH SIDE HAS COUNTED IN A GIVEN FORMATION. SUCH DISCREPANCIES COULD EXIST EVEN WHERE THERE WERE NO DISCREPANCIES IN NATIONAL TOTALS. IN FACT, IF THERE WERE NO DISCREPANCIES IN THE NATIONAL TOTALS FOR A SPECIFIC COUNTRY, THERE WOULD BE NO CREDIBLE BASIS FOR CHALLENGING EASTERN FIGURES FOR THAT COUNTRY WHATEVER THE DISCREPANCIES IN THE FIGURES FOR ITS ARMIES AND REAR ECHELON COMPONENTS. IN PURELY PRACTICAL TERMS, THEREFORE, IDENTIFICATION OF DISCREPANCIES IN NATIONAL TOTALS AND THE DETERMINATION OF THE MAGNITUDE OF DISCREPANCY FOR EACH SET OF NATIONAL FIGURES REPRESENTS A NECESSARY STEP IN SEARCHING FOR SOURCES OF
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THE DISCREPANCY IN OVERALL TOTALS.

11. THESE RESTRICTIONS WOULD TOTALLY DEPRIVE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS OF THE MOST IMPORTANT ARGUMENT FOR GAINING EASTERN ACCEPTANCE TO THE WESTERN PROPOSAL. THE PRINCIPAL ARGUMENT THAT CAN BE MADE IN FAVOR OF A FRG UNIT DISAGGREGATION APPROACH IS THAT IT WOULD GO ONE STEP BEYOND NATIONAL TOTALS TO A FURTHER STAGE OF DISAGGREGATION AND THUS WOULD MOVE FURTHER TOWARDS CLARIFICATION OF THE DISCREPANCIES. IT SHOULD NOT BE PRESENTED AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO NATIONAL TOTALS BUT AS THE NEXT STEP BEYOND IT. WE MUST BE IN A POSITION TO DEPRIVE THE EAST OF ANY ABILITY TO DEFEND AGAINST ACCEPTING THE WESTERN PROPOSAL ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT WILL NOT PROVIDE THE EAST THE INFORMATION WHICH IT HAS OFFERED TO TABLE.

12. AS REGARDS THE DISCLAIMERS, PROPOSED IS GUIDANCE (REF D) SEEMS TO US SATISFACTORY SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM. FOR REASONS OUTLINED IN MBFR 305, WE FULLY AGREE WITH USNATO'S JUDGMENT THAT GUIDANCE SHOULD NOT AUTHORIZE USE OF THE INTERNAL ALLIED POSITION ON PHASE II REDUCTION COMMITMENT BY THE AHG (REF E, PARA 11). END COMMENT.
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